

Narcissism: Its function in modulating self-conscious emotions

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This study focused on the functional aspects of narcissism in regulating self-conscious emotions (guilt, shame, hubristic pride, and achievement-oriented pride) as well as two other attribution styles (externalization and detachment). The authors investigated Japanese university students (N = 452) with regard to their self-conscious emotions using the Test of Self-Conscious Affect-3 (TOSCA-3) and their narcissistic personality using the short version of Narcissistic Personality Inventory (NPI-S). Structural equation modeling was used for the analysis. The authors found that narcissism led individuals to feel achievement-oriented pride, hubristic pride, externalization, and detachment, but inhibited feelings of shame. It did not have a significant effect on guilt. Shame-proneness prompted hubristic pride and externalization. Guilt-proneness inclined an individual toward achievement-oriented pride, but deterred externalization. In this article, the authors present and interpret these results in detail and then discuss how they can be utilized in psychotherapy. (Bulletin of the Menninger Clinic, 76[3], 211–234)

The concept of narcissism has long been of interest to clinicians and scholars in the realm of psychoanalysis and personality research. Based on the proposition that narcissism is a libidinal investment of the self, Freud (1914) positioned “primary narcissism” as a normal developmental phase between autoerotism and object-love. Furthermore, he used the term *secondary narcissism*

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*sis*m in his explanation of phenomena such as sexual perversion, schizophrenia, hypochondria, organic disease, megalomania (Freud, 1914), and melancholia (Freud, 1917). In the decades following Freud's work, "all self-directedness was then described as narcissism, broadening the concept considerably" (Pulver, 1970, p. 325). Pulver noted that narcissism has been used in relation to a wide range of psychological concepts, including a sexual perversion, a developmental stage, a mode of relating to an object, and self-esteem.

In recent years, there seems to have been a trend toward focusing on the functional aspects of narcissism, that is, regulation of self-esteem (Campbell, Foster, & Brunell, 2004; Stolorow, 1975; Tracy & Robins, 2004). In order to maintain their self-esteem, individuals tend to take credit for successful outcomes and blame others or the situation for unsuccessful ones. The extent of this behavior depends on degree of an individual's narcissistic personality traits.

The main aim of this study was to examine the functions of narcissism, particularly how it maintains self-esteem by regulating self-conscious emotions. Generally speaking, there are four self-conscious emotions: shame, guilt, hubristic pride, and achievement-oriented pride (Campbell et al., 2004). Tracy and Robins (2004) distinguished self-conscious emotions from basic emotions and noted that stable self-awareness and self-representation are required for the emergence of self-conscious emotions, and these emotions therefore emerge around 18-24 months of age. Shame and guilt are framed as moral emotions (Ausubel, 1955; Tangney, 1996) and are elicited by appraisals of identity-goal incongruence (Tracy & Robins, 2004). The other two emotions, hubristic pride and achievement-oriented pride, are elicited by appraisals of identity-goal congruence (Tracy & Robins, 2004).

In comparing the two moral emotions, Lewis (1971) explained that guilt is remorse for actions taken, whereas shame is a feeling that attributes a negative event to one's entire self. Therefore, shame may be related to low self-esteem. On the other hand, guilt has reparative and ameliorative characteristics. Tangney (1996) wrote, "guilt doesn't affect one's core identity or self-concept.

In guilt, there's a sense of tension, remorse and regret over the 'bad thing done.' And this sense of tension and regret often motivates reparative action—confessing, apologizing, or somehow repairing the damaged one” (p. 743). Guilt leads individuals to modify their future actions. Winnicott (1958, p. 16) defined guilt as “tolerance of ambivalence” about love and hate. He further wrote that an infant is able to feel guilt when he or she is “becoming a unit, and is becoming able to perceive the mother as a person.” Before this phase, the infant is not an independent unit, and perceives the mother as a partial object, which the infant uses “ruthlessly” (Winnicott, 1963, p. 76), “without regard for consequences” (p. 76), resulting in anxiety over possible loss of the mother. When the “environment-mother” (p. 76) has “survival capacity” (p. 76) and is not destroyed by greedy and aggressive infant id-drives, the infant is able to hold the anxiety and develop a sense of guilt, because the infant has “growing confidence that there will be opportunity for contributing-in, for giving to the environment-mother” (p. 77): in other words, reparation.

In a study of the relationship between attribution style and learned hopelessness, Alloy, Peterson, Abramson, and Seligman (1984) compared two subtypes of individuals: one who attributes negative events to global factors, and the other who attributes negative events to specific factors. These authors demonstrated that an individual with a specific attribution style was more likely to feel hopelessness only when an event was similar to an original situation that led to a feeling of hopelessness. On the other hand, an individual with a global attribution style was more likely to feel hopelessness regardless of whether a situation was similar or dissimilar to an original event. According to Lewis's (1971) definition, shame and guilt seem to be based on global and specific attributions, respectively. Therefore, it is possible to say that a shame-prone individual is more apt to feel hopeless and to have decreased self-efficacy.

In these senses, shame is more painful than guilt because it appears to shake self-esteem and does not allow one to take reparative, ameliorative actions. Another of shame's characteristics is anxiety, and concern about being exposed to others' judgment may be one component of the psychopathology of a shame-prone

individual. Benedict (1967) noted that guilt results from internal sanctions and shame from external sanctions. Although it may be difficult to say that shame is solely based on others' judgment, exposure sensitivity might be a crucial factor limiting a shame-prone individual's ability to make decisions based on free will.

In addition, empirical studies have demonstrated the close relationship between shame and psychopathology, for example, borderline personality disorder, depression, PTSD, social phobia, dissociation, anger, arousal, suspiciousness, irritability, and the tendency to blame others for negative events (Andrews, 1995; Andrews, Brewin, Rose, & Kirk, 2000; Browning, 2005; Feiring & Taska, 2005; Rüschi et al., 2007; Talbot, Talbot, & Tu, 2004; Tangney, 1990, 1991, 1996; Tangney, Dearing, Wagner, & Gramzow, 1992a; Tangney, Wagner, Fletcher, & Gramzow, 1992b; Tangney, Wagner, Hill-Barlow, Marschall, & Gramzow, 1996; Uji, Kitamura, & Nagata, 2009b).

Tracy, Cheng, Robins, and Trzesniewski (2009) examined and distinguished between hubristic and authentic (achievement-oriented) pride. They wrote that "authentic pride is more socially desirable, achievement-oriented facet, associated with accomplishment and confidence. Hubristic pride is the more narcissistic facet associated with arrogance and conceit" (p. 197). Hubristic pride may contribute to aggression, hostility, interpersonal conflict, and self-destructive behaviors (Bushman & Baumeister, 1998; Campbell, 1999; Kernberg, 1975; Kohut, 1977; Morf & Rhodewalt, 2001; Wink, 1991). An individual with hubristic pride may face these problems when the person's fantasies conflict with the real world. Tracy et al. (2009) explained that hubristic pride is related to narcissistic self-aggrandizement. Achievement-oriented pride is the result of an individual's previous successful accomplishments, whereas hubristic pride is not (Lewis, 2000; Tangney et al., 1992a). Achievement-oriented (authentic) pride may contribute to deep-rooted self-esteem (Tracy & Robins, 2004). Tangney et al. (1992a) referred to hubristic pride and achievement-oriented (authentic) pride as α -pride and β -pride, respectively.

As noted previously, this study focused on the relationship between narcissism and self-conscious emotions, and in particular on the relationship among narcissism, shame, and hubristic pride.

The role of narcissism in modulating hubristic pride and shame has been widely discussed (Campbell et al., 2004; Tracy & Robins, 2004). There seems to be a consensus that both hubristic pride and shame are self-conscious emotions based on global and stable attributions to the entire self. An example of a statement by one who feels hubristic pride is, “I won the game because I am a great person.” Correspondingly, one who feels shame might say, “I lost the game because I am worthless.” These two statements appear to be completely opposite in meaning; however, according to Tracy and colleagues (Tracy & Robins, 2004; Tracy et al., 2009), narcissists have high levels of implicit shame, along with low self-esteem that they strive to conceal with hubristic pride. Therefore, at a conscious level, people who consistently feel this type of pride believe that they are superior to others and may behave arrogantly. They are unaware of their intrinsic low self-esteem.

In discussing the relationship among narcissism, shame, and hubristic pride, it is important to review the origin of narcissistic traits. Kohut (1966, 1972) noted that the lack of approval and admiration of an object—in other words, the experience of being rejected by a mother figure—prompts an individual to fail in alleviating his or her narcissistic tension and as a result induces painful shame. Uji, Kitamura, and Nagata (2009a) showed that individuals with perceived high maternal rejection and indifference were prone to shame. Some scholars emphasize the parents’ overvaluation of their children and the unrealistic demands on them as the origin of narcissistic personality (Millon, 1996; Tracy et al., 2009). A child’s inability to meet these expectations leads to the experience of being rejected. Millon (1996), in reference to Miller’s (1981) *Prisoners of Childhood*, wrote that during childhood narcissists “served to fulfill parental longings, served to achieve glorification for their parents’ unrequited desire for glorification, and failed to be provided with the genuine emotional acceptance necessary to develop an authentic sense of self” (p. 402). Goren (1995) and other interpersonal school analysts suggest that some parts of the self of a narcissistic individual have not been recognized or approved by significant others; therefore,

these individuals still need external validation through their interpersonal relationships even after they have become adults.

Miller and Campbell (2010), in reviewing narcissism research, wrote that there are two types of narcissists: grandiose and vulnerable. Grandiose narcissists may be individuals with unrealistically high self-esteem, while vulnerable narcissists may be those with low self-esteem who are prone to shame if they do not receive others' approval.

Other scholars, however, have not classified narcissism into two groups. They suggest that grandiose narcissism and vulnerable narcissism are not distinct entities, but exist at the opposite poles of a single continuum. According to these authors, hubristic pride is related to grandiose self-representation, which can be regarded as a defense against implicit low self-esteem (Kernberg, 1975; Tracy & Robins, 2003). Tracy et al. (2009) noted that narcissistic self-regulation (i.e., hubristic pride as a result of self-enhancement) can be seen as a defense against excessive shame. On the basis of their theory, we hypothesized that people with highly narcissistic personalities avoid shame (W1 in Figure 1) and are prone to hubristic pride (W2 in Figure 1). They may also be prone to self-aggrandizement as a reaction to feeling explicit shame (W3 in Figure 1).

The second purpose of this study was to examine the relationships among narcissism, guilt, and authentic pride. Both guilt and authentic pride are based on unstable and specific attributions. An individual who feels guilt would say, "I failed the examination because I was not prepared. I should have started studying earlier," while an individual with authentic pride would say, "I passed the examination because I studied hard for two months." Both negative outcomes and successes are attributed to these individuals' previous actions.

Campbell et al. (2004) noted that narcissists have fewer negative emotions such as shame, guilt, and depression, and more positive emotions with self-favorability such as hubristic pride and authentic pride. Therefore, we presumed that not only hubristic pride (α -pride) but also achievement-oriented pride (authentic pride, β -pride) is facilitated by narcissism.

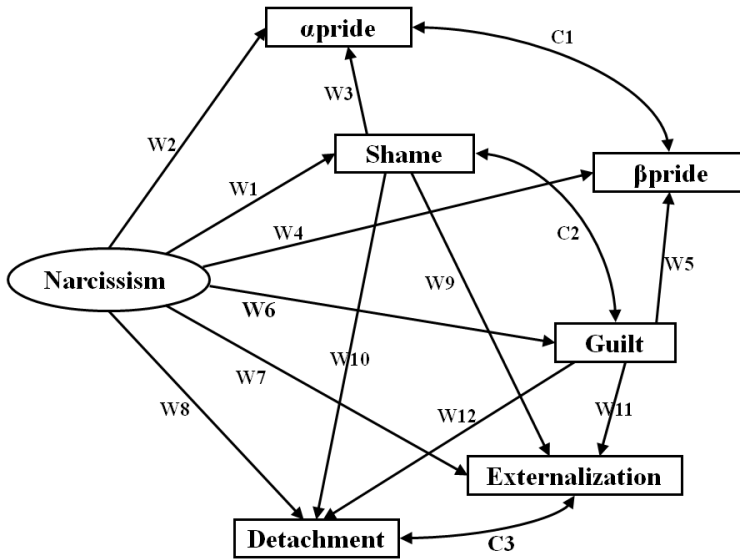


Figure 1. The hypothesis diagram. The latent variable shown on the left side is Narcissism, extracted from the NPI item scores, and the six observed variables shown on the right side are the TOSCA-3 subscale scores.

On the other hand, Tracy et al. (2009) noted that people who are prone to authentic pride show less disparity between implicit and explicit self-esteem. Tracy et al. showed that only hubristic pride (not authentic pride) is related to narcissistic self-aggrandizement. According to them, authentic pride is related to healthy self-esteem. In the present study, the Narcissistic Personality Inventory (NPI; Raskin & Hall, 1979) was adopted for evaluating narcissistic traits. If Tracy et al.'s contention is correct, the origin of authentic pride cannot be identified in narcissistic traits assessed by the NPI, an instrument that showed a remarkable convergent validity correlation with *DSM-IV* NPD interview ratings (Miller, Gaughan, Pryor, Kamen, & Campbell, 2009). In response to the conflicting arguments of these researchers, we used structural equation modeling to assess whether the causal effect of narcissism on β -pride (authentic pride) (W4 in Figure 1) is statistically significant.

Furthermore, as noted previously, guilt-proneness provides the individual with an opportunity to modify future actions, and increases self-efficacy and possibly authentic pride. Thus, we hypothesized a causal relationship between guilt-proneness and authentic pride (β -pride) (W5 in Figure 1). This hypothesis is supported by previous studies that emphasized the psychopathology-prophylactic effect of guilt in comparison to shame (Tangney, 1990; Tangney et al., 1992b; Uji et al., 2009b).

One intriguing question is whether narcissism inhibits an individual from feeling guilt. In other words, does feeling guilty expose an individual to the risk of harming his or her self-esteem (W6 in Figure 1)? As mentioned earlier, Tangney et al. (1996) explained that guilt does not affect core identity and self-concept. On this basis, we assumed that narcissism does not deter an individual from feeling guilt, in contrast to feeling shame.

In this study, we applied the Test of Self-Conscious Affect (TOSCA; Tangney et al., 1992a) for assessing self-conscious emotions. TOSCA was revised twice and then superseded by TOSCA-3 (TOSCA-3; Tangney, Dearing, Wagner, & Gramzow, 2000). All of these inventories are used in studies that assess people's feelings based on respondents' interpretations of given scenarios. In addition to the four self-conscious emotions of guilt-proneness, shame-proneness, α -pride (hubristic pride), and β -pride (achievement-oriented pride), TOSCA-3 enables us to assess the other two cognition styles: externalization and detachment.

Both externalization and detachment are attribution styles that can be seen as cognitive reactions prompted by narcissism, regardless of whether this prompting is direct or indirect (mediated by self-conscious emotions such as shame and guilt). Externalization and detachment may be elicited when a person's identity is threatened, for example, when he or she is insulted by another (Tracy & Robins, 2004), or when one's self-esteem is shaken. Uji et al. (2009b) noted the role of externalization and detachment in preventing a depressive reaction following a stressful life event. In psychotherapy, we sometimes see patients who frequently use these cognitive styles: ignoring their role in a failure, or attributing the cause of a negative event to another person. An interesting question is whether these attribution styles are directly influenced

by narcissism (W7, W8 in Figure 1) or whether they are the results of reactive cognitions that help an individual escape from the moral emotions (shame and guilt) (W9–W12 in Figure 1). In particular, as noted previously, shame is more painful than guilt, and an individual may struggle to avoid responsibility for an unsuccessful outcome by blaming others or the situation. Kohut (1972) focused on the narcissistic rage that follows the experience of painful shame caused by maternal rejection. This reaction is also endorsed by empirical studies (Strömsten, Henneingsson, Holm, & Sundbom, 2009; Tangney et al., 1992a, 1992b, 1996). Referring to Lewis (1971), Tangney and Dearing (2002b) wrote, a “shamed individual’s hostility is initially directed inward, towards the self, the experience is so aversive that there is often an inclination to shift that hostility and blame outward” (p. 91).

To summarize, the aims of this study were to address the following questions:

1. Whether narcissism suppresses shame, as well as whether it helps an individual avoid guilt.
2. Whether narcissism facilitates two types of pride: achievement-oriented (authentic) pride and hubristic pride.
3. Whether hubristic pride could be a defense against shame becoming explicit.
4. Whether achievement-oriented pride could be reinforced by guilt-proneness.
5. Whether externalization and detachment are cognitive reactions to prevent one from feeling the two moral emotions, in particular shame.

Method

Procedure and participants

As a longitudinal follow-up study on depressive mood and suicidality in a Japanese university student population, a nine-wave, 4-month prospective study was conducted with students of two universities in Kumamoto. Anonymity and voluntary participation were guaranteed. The research protocol was approved by

the Ethical Committee of Kumamoto University (Institutional Review Board). The number of eligible students was 642, but not all students attended class on each occasion, and 3% to 5% of them declined participation in the study.

The Narcissistic Personality Inventory (NPI; Raskin & Hall, 1979) was included in the questionnaire given to students at the fifth wave, and TOSCA-3 was included in the questionnaire given to students at the sixth wave. The time between the fifth and the sixth waves was 7 days. Among the 466 respondents who agreed to participate in the fifth and sixth waves, 431 who completed all NPI and TOSCA-3 items comprised the final study population. This group included 93 men and 338 women, with a mean (*SD*) age of 19.0 (1.33) years.

Measurements

Test of Self-Conscious Affect-3 (TOSCA-3). The TOSCA-3 is a self-report measure of four self-conscious emotions: guilt-proneness, shame-proneness, α -pride, and β -pride, and two other attribution styles: externalization and detachment. The TOSCA-3 consists of a series of 11 negative and 5 positive scenarios, each with four or five responses reflecting one of the six emotions. Each response is rated on a five-point scale from 1, “not likely,” to 5, “very likely.” A bilingual graduate student translated the TOSCA-3 into Japanese. A second bilingual graduate student from Tangney’s laboratory familiar with the literature on shame and guilt back-translated the measure and compared it to the original English. We allocated between one and five points for each item.

All six emotion categories (guilt-proneness, shame-proneness, α -pride, β -pride, externalization, and detachment), which originate from both positive and negative evaluations of the presented scenarios, were used in the analysis. The subscales of guilt-proneness, shame-proneness, and externalization include 16 items, with total scores ranging from 16 to 80. The detachment subscale has 11 items and scores range from 11 to 55. The subscales of α -pride and β -pride include five items and have combined scores ranging from 5 to 25.

Tangney and Dearing (2002a) showed that apart from the subscales of the two types of pride, the subscales of the other self-

conscious emotions (shame, guilt) as well as externalization and detachment showed high internal consistency: Cronbach's α values $\geq .6$. The reason for the relatively lower Cronbach's α value for subscales of α and β pride could be attributed to the fewer number of items. Hasui et al. (2009) showed similar results regarding the Cronbach's α for the Japanese version of TOSCA-3.

Short version of the Narcissistic Personality Inventory (NPI-S). The NPI is a self-report measure that initially contained 233 items divided into two forms. Emmons (1984) revised it into a 54-item measure. Raskin and Terry (1988) conducted a principal component analysis of the 54 items, and then settled on a 40-item scale as the best measure of narcissism. This shortened scale consists of seven factors: Authority, Exhibitionism, Superiority, Vanity, Exploitativeness, Entitlement, and Self-Sufficiency. Raskin and Terry also demonstrated the construct validity of the 40-item NPI.

In formulating a Japanese adaptation, Oshio (2004) developed an 18-item measure on a five-point scale (NPI-S). We allocated between 0 and 4 points for each item. The NPI-S consists of three subcategories: Sense of Superiority (6 items), Need for Admiration and Praise (6 items), and Self-Assertion (6 items). Sample items for Sense of Superiority are "I think I am talented," "I have strengths that would be worthwhile for other people to learn from," and "People trust whatever I say." Sample items for Need for Admiration and Praise are "I have a desire to get attention," "I feel restless when people don't think well of me," and "I would like to be powerful, and have many followers." Sample items for Self-Assertion are "I think I am the type of person who can assert my own opinion," "I act as I please without worrying about others under any circumstances," and "I think I tend to take on any challenge." Igarashi et al. (2010) conducted an exploratory factor analysis that supported a three-factor structure. The three factors corresponded to the three subscales suggested by Oshio (2004). The first factor was named Sense of Superiority, the second factor Need for Admiration and Praise, and the third factor Self-Assertion.

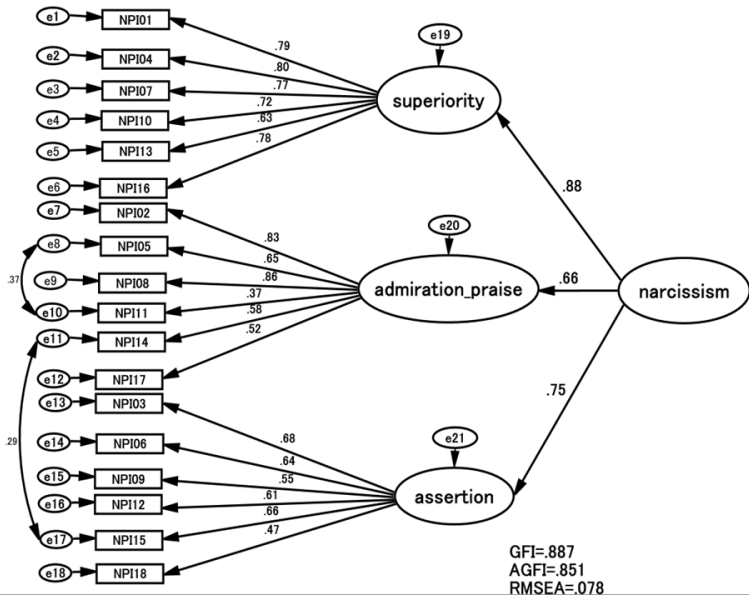


Figure 2. Confirmatory factor analysis of the NPI. Superiority refers to “Sense of Superiority,” admiration_praise refers to “Need for Admiration and Praise,” and assertion refers to “Self-Assertion.”

Statistical methods

Confirmatory analysis of the NPI. A confirmatory analysis of the NPI was conducted in order to verify its three-factor structure. As seen in the hypothesis model shown in Figure 2, “narcissism” was placed above the three subcategory latent variables Sense of Superiority, Need for Admiration and Praise, and Self-Assertion.

Relationships among narcissism, the self-conscious emotions, externalization, and detachment. To examine our hypothesis, we developed the diagram shown in Figure 1. Structural equation modeling was first conducted on the whole group, and then along gender lines. For the purpose of comparing male and female groups, a simultaneous analysis of multigroups was conducted to obtain critical ratios. A critical ratio with a magnitude of 1.96 or more indicates a significant difference ($p < .05$) in the parameters between the pair of subgroups.

According to several studies that used TOSCA or its revised versions, statistics concerning shame and guilt overlap signifi-

cantly (Strömsten et al., 2009; Tangney et al., 1992a, 1992b). This overlap is understandable because these two emotions are framed as moral emotions and are also based on internal attributions (Tangney, 1990; Tangney & Dearing, 2002c). Therefore, a covariance between their error variables was presumed (C2 in Figure 1).

Because both α -pride and β -pride are elicited by appraisals of identity-goal congruence, a covariance between their error variables was estimated (C1 in Figure 1). In addition, there may be some overlap between the noninternal attributions, that is, externalization and detachment (Strömsten et al., 2009). We therefore hypothesized a covariance between their error variables (C3 in Figure 1). The causal coefficients from narcissism to the six subscales of TOSCA-3 were assumed, as well as the causal relationships between some self-conscious emotions and attribution styles based on the hypothesis detailed in the introduction.

To identify the goodness of fit of the model to the data (Arbuckle & Wothke, 1995), we used the goodness of fitness index (GFI), the adjusted goodness of fitness index (AGFI), and the root mean square error of approximation (RMSEA) and its 90% CI.

Results

Confirmatory factor analysis of the NPI

The standardized causal coefficients are shown in Figure 2. The three-factor structure was verified by a confirmatory factor analysis (GFI: .89, AGFI: .85, RMSEA [90% CI]: 0.08 [0.071–0.086]).

Correlations between NPI subscale scores and TOSCA-3 subscale scores

α -pride and β -pride had significant positive correlations with all three NPI subscales (Table 1). Detachment also had significant positive correlations with all NPI subscales. Externalization had significant positive correlations with two of the three NPI subscales, Sense of superiority and Need for Admiration and Praise. Shame had significant negative correlations with Sense of Superi-

Table 1. Correlations between NPI and TOSCA-3 subscale scores

	Sense of superiority	Need for attention and praise	Self-assertion
α -Pride	.36**	.35**	.24**
β -Pride	.23**	.27**	.19**
Shame	-.20**	.10*	-.21**
Guilt	-.07	.10*	.04
Externalization	.20**	.14**	.04
Detachment	.19**	.08*	.15**

Note. ** $p < .01$, * $p < .05$.

ority and Sself-Assertion and a positive correlation with Need for Admiration and Praise. Guilt had a positive correlation only with Need for Admiration and Praise.

The effects of narcissism on the six TOSCA-3 subscales

The model that showed the best fit (GFI: .86, AGFI: .82, RMSEA [90% CI]: 0.076 [0.070–0.081]) presumed three of the causal coefficients to be zero, those from narcissism to guilt, guilt to detachment, and shame to detachment (Figure 3).

Narcissism prompts an individual to feel α -pride (the standardized causal coefficient from narcissism to α -pride was .51, $p < .01$), β -pride (the standardized causal coefficient from narcissism to β -pride was .33, $p < .01$), externalization (the standardized causal coefficient from narcissism to externalization was .35, $p < .01$), and detachment (the standardized causal coefficient from narcissism to detachment was .26, $p < .01$). It deters feelings of shame (the standardized causal coefficient from narcissism to shame was $-.20$, $p < .01$). Shame made an individual prone to α -pride (the standardized causal coefficient from shame to α -pride was .17, $p < .01$), as well as externalization (the standardized causal coefficient from shame to externalization was .52, $p < .01$). On the contrary, guilt deterred one from externalization (the standardized causal coefficient from guilt to externalization was $-.35$, $p < .01$). Guilt facilitated an individual's β -pride (the standardized causal coefficient from guilt to β -pride was .16, $p < .01$).

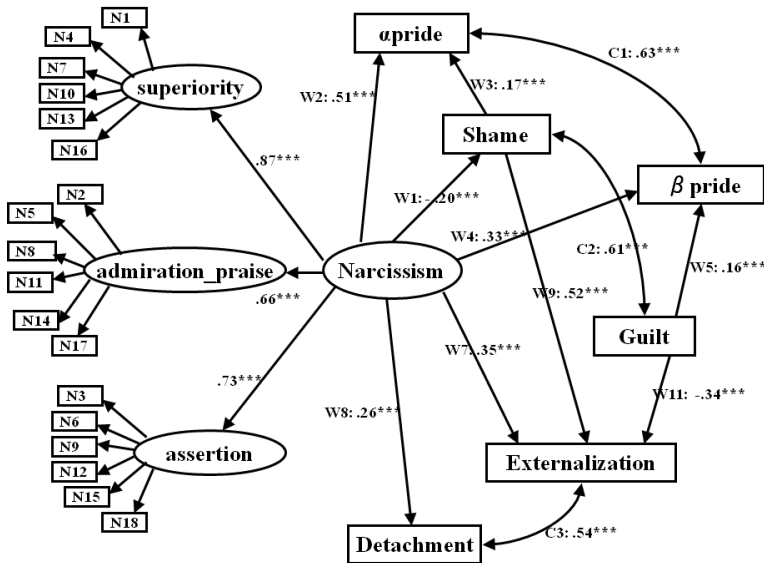


Figure 3. The diagram that showed the best fit. *** $< .001$. Superiority refers to “Sense of Superiority,” admiration_praise refers to “Need for Admiration and Praise,” and assertion refers to “Self-Assertion.”

The influence of gender on the parameters

The results obtained by the gender-based analysis did not differ from those of the whole group analysis. Furthermore, simultaneous analysis of multigroups was conducted to examine the influence of gender on a particular parameter. The standardized causal coefficients of parameters in Figure 1 are shown for each gender (Table 2), as well as the critical ratios. All the absolute values of the critical ratios of the causal coefficients (W1, W2, W3, W4, W5, W7, W8, W9, and W11) were less than 1.96, indicating no influence of gender on these parameters.

Discussion

The results of this study were as follows. First, narcissism prompted individuals to self-conscious emotions with self-favorability, regardless of whether it was hubristic pride or achievement-ori-

Table 2. Standardized causal coefficients of male and female group and their critical ratio

	W1	W2	W3	W4	W5	W7	W8	W9	W11
Male	-.18	.64	.22	.45	.27	.47	.43	.63	-.45
Female	-.21	.46	.12	.31	.10	.28	.21	.46	-.26
Critical ratio	-0.59	-0.96	-1.21	-0.47	-1.44	-1.31	-1.38	-1.88	1.46

ented (authentic) pride. Second, a crucial finding was that guilt was not influenced by narcissism, although it is a negative emotion. Third, shame was inhibited by narcissism. Fourth, hubristic pride and authentic pride were facilitated by shame and guilt, respectively. Fifth, as expected, narcissism directly facilitated externalization and detachment. Sixth, externalization was deterred by guilt and stimulated by shame; detachment, however, was not influenced by these moral emotions. These findings will be discussed in detail.

Narcissism's relationship to the two types of pride and the two moral emotions

Campbell et al. (2004) noted that “narcissists are motivated by pride” (p. 151) and “narcissists report more positive affect than non-narcissists” (p. 151). The direct positive relationship between narcissism and the two types of pride identified in this study confirmed Campbell et al.’s description. Their argument that narcissists express fewer negative emotions was applicable only to shame, but not to guilt. Inferring from narcissism’s role in the regulation of self-esteem, we conclude that guilt does not seem to be an emotion that harms self-esteem.

This result alone, however, was unable to confirm either the argument by Tracy and colleagues (Tracy & Robins, 2004; Tracy et al., 2009) that narcissists have high levels of implicit shame, or the argument by Campbell et al. (2004) that narcissists have less shame and that “there is no evidence that narcissists carry negative global self-feelings implicitly” (p. 151). What we can say is that narcissists try to avoid shame in order to protect their self-esteem.

The result of this study (inverse causal relationship between narcissism and shame) seemingly contradicts Kohut's (1971) argument that most shame-prone individuals are "exhibitionistic people who are driven by their ambitions" (p. 181). He continues: "After suffering defeats in the pursuit of their ambitious and exhibitionistic aims, such individuals experience at first searing shame, and——" (p. 181). Interpreting the result of our study using Kohut's argument, we can say that when a narcissistic individual's narcissistic needs are satisfied, the person is able to maintain "cohesive archaic narcissistic configurations" (Kohut, 1971, p. 7), which are well assessed quantitatively by the NPI, and there is no need for the person to be concerned with feelings of shame. However, when the narcissistic individual's defeats result in an inability to maintain the configurations, the person's narcissism is discouraged (the NPI score decreases) and his or her shame is revealed.

The causal progression from shame to hubristic pride and externalization

Although we cannot determine whether or not narcissists carry excessive levels of implicit shame, it seems that for every individual, regardless of the strength of his or her narcissistic personality traits, shame is too painful and as a defense the individual tries to maintain it with hubristic pride and externalization. In particular, the cognitive reaction from shame into externalization observed in this study supports the close relationship between shame and aggressive emotions such as irritability, resentment, hostility, and anger (Tangney & Dearing, 2002b; Tangney et al., 1992a, 1992b, 1996). Tangney and Dearing (2002b) explained the narcissistic individual's shifting of blame from self to others as "attempts to preserve his or her self-esteem" (p. 92).

The causal progression from guilt to authentic pride and guilt's inhibiting effect on externalization

The results of this study showed that guilt facilitated authentic pride. This is in accordance with our hypothesis noted in the introduction: Guilt-proneness provides the individual with an op-

portunity to modify future actions, and increases self-efficacy and possibly authentic pride.

In addition, in contrast to shame, guilt-proneness also deterred individuals' inclination to externalization. A guilt-prone individual does not have to blame others because the person is able to endure the pain of self-introspection. The individual may also recognize the benefit of taking responsibility for negative outcomes and the resulting development of self-efficacy.

The causal progression from narcissism to noninternal attribution styles

As expected, narcissism prompted both externalization and detachment. These cognition styles may protect an individual from having his or her self-esteem shaken. This is consistent with the theory of narcissism's self-serving function (Campbell et al., 2004; Tracy & Robins, 2004). The overuse of these attribution styles may limit self-introspection and inhibit the extent to which the individual modifies future actions and improves self-efficacy skills.

The influence of Japanese culture on the relationship between narcissism and self-conscious emotions

Despite the influence of Western individualistic culture, Japanese traditional culture still seems to have a major influence on a Japanese individual's personality. Compared to Western people, Japanese tend to be more sensitive to the nature of other people's attention and judgment. For Japanese, shame, an emotion based on sensitivity to exposure, seems to be extremely painful because it means they are not accepted by the society they belong to. This experience threatens their existence. The desperate effort made by narcissistic individuals to avoid shame, and the psychological mechanism of converting shame into externalization and hubristic pride, could partially be attributed to this cultural factor.

Limitations

Several limitations of this study should be noted. The first, as noted previously, concerns the issue of how we should interpret

the inverse causality from narcissism to shame. One interpretation, as Tracy and coauthors (Tracy & Robins, 2004; Tracy et al., 2009) noted, is that an individual with a highly narcissistic personality unknowingly carries a high level of implicit shame, which is masked by excessive externalization and hubristic pride. Another interpretation is that noted by Campbell et al. (2004), in which a highly narcissistic individual has fewer intrinsic emotions related to low self-esteem. If we had assessed implicit self-esteem (Bosson, Swann, & Pennebaker, 2000), we would have been able to come to a conclusion as to whether a highly narcissistic individual's implicit self-esteem is low (Tracy & Robins, 2004; Tracy et al., 2009) or whether the person's self-esteem is high both implicitly and explicitly (Campbell et. al., 2004).

The second limitation is that this study targeted only university students. If it had focused on a clinical population, different results might have been obtained regarding the relationship between moral emotions and not-self attribution styles. Patients may be less able to endure shame and guilt, and more likely to compensate with detachment and externalization. Furthermore, we have to be cautious in applying the results of this study not only to clinical populations, but also to general populations of different ages. Recently it has been said that in Japan young adults and teenagers are apt to avoid interpersonal relationships and group activities and tend to withdraw because of low tolerance for interpersonal conflict. A narcissism-related pathology may be behind this phenomenon. People of middle age and older have in general resolved narcissism-related problems and have developed different relationships between narcissism and self-conscious emotions.

Third, it has not been confirmed whether the α -pride and β -pride assessed by TOSCA-3 correspond to the hubristic pride and the achievement-oriented pride described by Tracy and Robins (2004). Further empirical studies assessing the relationships between α -pride, β -pride, and a variety of psychopathologies should be conducted with Japanese populations.

Clinical implications

How can the results of this study be used practically? Kohut (1971) proposed two types of transference from a narcissistic patient to a therapist: one in which “the transferences which arise from the therapeutic mobilization of the idealized parent imago (to be idealizing transference)” (p. 28) and the other in which transferences “arise from the mobilization of the grandiose self (comprehensively referred to as mirror transference)” (p. 28). The NPI-S assesses the grandiose narcissistic self, which may lead to the mirror transference when it emerges overtly as hubristic pride within therapeutic relationships. Kohut (1971) wrote that

under favorable circumstances (appropriate selective parental response to the child's demands for an echo to and a participation in the narcissistic-exhibitionistic manifestations of his grandiose fantasies), the child learns to accept his realistic limitations, the grandiose fantasies and the crude exhibitionistic demands are given up, and are pari passu replaced by ego-syntonic goals and purposes, by pleasure in his functions and activities and by realistic self-esteem.
(p. 107)

This could also be applied to therapist–patient relationships. In the case of mirror transference, Kohut (1971) emphasized the importance of the therapist’s empathy with the client’s needs for approval and “attitudes of acceptance which stresses the phase-appropriateness” (p. 179) of the needs, while at the same time working with the patient’s “reality ego.” When we see patients with narcissistic traits accompanied by hubristic pride, we sometimes fail to empathize with them because of negative countertransference and tend to counter with an “educational attitude of prohibition and admonishing realism” (Kohut, 1971, p. 179). This study provided the knowledge that hubristic pride is able to be understood as a defense mobilized by narcissism against the painful emotion of shame, which is related to low self-esteem. When patients exhibit hubristic pride, we have to understand that they want us to echo and empathize with them. If a patient displays feelings of shame during psychotherapy, it may suggest that his or her cohesive archaic narcissistic configurations may have been harmed by the therapist’s failure to empathize as a result of the therapist’s nega-

tive countertransference. The same can be applied to externalization following shame, namely blaming the therapist. Rejection by the therapist leaves the patient unable to control his or her shame, and results in externalization directed at the therapist. This study helps us avoid experiencing excessive negative countertransference toward patients who overuse hubristic pride, externalization, and shame. It encourages the therapist to empathize with the patient's narcissistic manifestations in order to promote an independent self with a stable self-esteem. We should support these patients until they can attribute a cause of the negative life event internally, followed by self-introspection, reparation, and taking responsibility; the latter involves guilt, which leads to greater self-efficacy. If we apply Winnicott's emphasis on the importance of an environment mother's survival ability in developing an infant's sense of guilt and concern to psychotherapy, therapists should endure a patient's ruthless use of them, in order to help the patient become independent and develop a sense of guilt and concern.

To summarize, this study reported meaningful results concerning the role of narcissism in regulating self-conscious emotions as well as non-self attribution styles. For future research, in addition to questionnaire-style studies, more focus should be placed on clinically obtained materials.

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